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177 shows that the old terms are used in so far as they
601 agree with European categories, or are modified in meaning so as to conform with European grouping. The importance of the relationship between parents-in-law is reflected in the use of the Nahuatl word *huexi*, and also of the Spanish equivalent, *consuegros*, to denote this relationship.

764 The ritual of death includes two conspicuous fea-
[786] tures. One is the wake, a mildly orgiastic occasion
[177] probably more Catholic than Indian. Few pre-Columbian elements survive in the death customs. The paper sandals on the soles of the deceased, the watergourd and food placed with the body, are probably such feeble survivals.

764 The other is the sharp distinction between a child's
766 funeral and that of an adult. The former is, as the
[775] child is supposed to "become an angel immediately," a theoretically happy occasion, and is accompanied with symbols of rejoicing. An adult is less certain of a place near the Divine Seat, and the funeral symbolism is somber. In Mexico City this distinction is exhibited chiefly in the color of the coffin—white for a child, black for an adult. In some Indian villages the rejoicing on the occasion of the death of a child is more copiously expressed than in Tepoztlán. In Xoxocotla, south of Tepoztlán, in Morelos, rockets are discharged at the funeral of a child, and in some Guerrero villages a dance is held.[1]

[1] Not personally verified. The statements in this sentence were made by informants.

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When a child dies, the bell is tolled in the chapel of the *barrio* in which it lived. The body is laid out on a table [or bed] and is covered with flowers. Candles burn at the head. A crown of paper flowers is often placed on the head, and a bunch of such flowers in the clasped hands. Food—often merely bread and milk—is placed near the head. The bereaved parents invite their friends to come share their sorrow. Musicians are hired and play all night following the death, while the intimate circle sit close beside the body conversing. The music is gay—the music of march or song. The women remain in or near the house. Outside, with the musicians, remain the less favored men. These drink a great deal; many are quite drunk by morning. There is much laughing, shouting, and quarreling.

Burial usually takes place the next day, most often at about three in the afternoon. All burials take place in the cemetery, which is about a mile east of Tepoztlán. Before the funeral procession starts, the body is clothed in a white-satin shroud. On the bare feet are tied paper sandals, often gilded. A small painted gourd, to symbolize the water-carrier, may be placed with the body. The body is placed in the coffin, but the lid is not put on. The coffin is painted red and gold. The litter is decorated with bright-colored flowers, and these are strewn before the procession as it enters the churchyard. The party consists of the friends and relatives, and the musicians, who continue to play cheerful airs. The mother carries a candle, to be lighted at the grave. When the priest is there, prayers are read in the church. If he is away, the procession passes through the churchyard, up to the door of the church and away, before going to the cemetery. At the grave, if there is no priest, no ritualistic acts are performed. The bodies are placed in crypts; as they crumble away, room is made for others. Refreshments may be taken at the cemetery before the people turn back.

When an adult dies, no flowers are used. The body is clad in black and white. Black paper is used to decorate the bier; the candles burned are black. The coffin is black, and the lid is nailed on before the procession starts. The music played is a dirge. Sometimes the bell in the chapel strikes the hours with

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764 [788] [533] double strokes until the funeral. Some families maintain an older custom, when an adult dies, of singing traditional funeral chants [*alabados*] during the night of vigil before interment.

765 [775] A week after the death of adult or child, food is set out for the soul to come and get before it then sets out for the land of the dead. The eating of this food the following day may be a ceremonial occasion, with friends asked in to share the eating and drinking.

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pression that most church weddings in Tepoztlán are of the second type, that is, *con ceremonia*. Judging from the marriage statistics, there is an average of about twenty-five church weddings a year. Assuming that twelve are of the elaborate type and thirteen of the simple type, we get an income of 426 pesos a year.

Another source of income is from the ceremonies at death and burial. The simple benediction for a dead child costs five pesos; benediction with *vigilias* costs thirty pesos; for going to the home of the deceased and praying, and then saying a Mass in the church and later at the cemetery, the cost is forty pesos.

The number of deaths in the municipio over a six-year period was 101, one-fourth of which was infant mortality. From this data we can calculate the church income. There is considerable variation in the costs of funerals. Often the rich will take only the simplest ceremony, while the poor will go into debt for an elaborate funeral. We can assume that about 60 per cent of the adult deaths yielded an income of at least 30 pesos to the church and the rest yielded about 40 pesos. We therefore get the following:

25 Benedictions for infants at 5 pesos each	125
46 Benedictions and Masses for adults at 30 pesos each	1,380
30 Benedictions and Masses for adults at 40 pesos each	1,200
Total	2,705

GENERAL MASSES

Here we can consider the Mass said in memory of the dead once a year; those paid by the religious associations in the village; and Masses said on Sundays and fiesta days.

It is customary to have a Mass said on the anniversary of the death of a close relative for at least two years, and some continue for much longer. Thus, given 101 deaths a year we can assume that at least eighty per cent will have Masses said the first year, sixty per cent the second year, and thirty per cent the third year. This would mean 180 Masses a year. These Masses have three prices: simple Mass for 2 pesos, a sung Mass for 11 pesos, and a Mass with a sermon for 40 pesos. The priest encourages the people to have Mass said for their dead and points out that the more elaborate the ceremony, the better the dead will fare in purgatory. Even the poor try to have the most elaborate Mass. Still, we will assume that at least 50 per cent of the Masses for the dead are simple, about 25 per cent are sung, and 25 per cent include a sermon. This yields the following income:

90 Masses at 2 pesos each	180
45 Masses at 11 pesos each	495
45 Masses at 40 pesos each	1,800
Total	2,475

In addition, we must add the money collected by the priest on the Days of the Dead when he says Mass for the dead as a whole, but mentions in particular the names of those who pay a three-peso fee. Informants believe he receives about 400

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As the couple grow older, the husband may make the selection, and often friendship, rather than higher economic status, dictates the choice.

Godparents address their godchildren in the familiar *tú* and are addressed in turn by the respectful *Vd.* Traditionally, the godchild had to kiss the godparent's hand at each meeting, but this is no longer common. It is customary for the godparent to offer the child a few centavos upon meeting. But the obligations of the godparent are many. They must assist at the baptism, purchase the child's clothing for the occasion, and pay the fee to the priest. They also accompany the mother and child to the *sacamisa*, or first Mass, which should take place forty days after the birth of the child. If the infant dies they arrange for the wake, dress the child appropriately for burial, and contribute to the expenses of the musicians at the funeral. One of the obligations of the godparent is to urge their *compadres* to send the child to school. If the child learns bad habits or otherwise needs correction, the parents may call upon the godparents to scold the child.

The godparents of confirmation are generally selected by the godparents of baptism, and occasionally the latter may accept both roles. The godparents of marriage are also important figures. One of their functions is to act as mediators between the couple, in case of quarrels or separations.

One of the distinctive aspects of the *compadre* system in Tepoztlán, and in Mexico as a whole, is the way in which the godparent relationship has been extended far beyond the original Catholic forms. In most of Spain there are only two or three types of godparents, popularly those of baptism, communion, and confirmation. Not so in Tepoztlán. In addition to the types mentioned above, Tepoztecans also have the following: *padrino de miscoton*,[6] *padrino de medida o listón*,[7] *padrino de evangelio*,[8] *padrino de escapulario, padrino del niño Jesús*, and others. It would seem that Tepoztecans have utilized every possibility for extending the godparent relationship. This may be a reflection of their seeking security through the extension of ceremonial kinship, for in most of the above cases a *compadre* relationship is formed.

The godparent system has also been extended to secular activities. At soccer and basketball games in the village, each team has its godmother who dresses in white, carries flowers, and acts as the sponsor of the team, handing out the prizes to the winners. At social dances there are also godmothers who act as chaperones for the young people.

Compadres address each other with the respectful *Vd.* and avoid intimacies. They may not drink together, discuss sexual matters, or tell dirty jokes. It is a respect relationship and in this lies its strength. *Compadres* will often exchange favors, and

[6] The term *miscoton* is Náhuatl and refers to a small sweater which the godparent places on the godchild as a protection against illness.

[7] The *medida o listón* refers to a small piece of ribbon which has been blessed by the priest and is placed on a sick child as a charm against evil.

[8] This godparent is also chosen for a child who is ill. A woman of the world is preferred to a woman with a "hard heart." By going to church and saying a prayer, she becomes the child's godmother.

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borrowing between them is probably more frequent than between kin. Upon the death of a *compadre* one is supposed to contribute toward the funeral expenses. *Compadres* are invited to barrio fiestas and are always treated with special deference. In meeting, the general salutation is, "Good day, *compadre*. How is everything?"

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Widows who
585 remarry, or girls who have eloped and are pregnant at the time of marriage, wear
292 a colored dress. The man may be married in simple *calzones* and huaraches and
[587] straw sombrero or in dark woolen store pants, poplin shirt, a cream colored linen jacket, fancy leather boots, and a felt hat, depending upon his resources. The man may wear his wedding clothes on later occasions but the woman's dress and veil

Fig. 62. A wedding party on the church steps.

[764] are carefully put away and guarded throughout life. Many women are buried in their wedding dress, but others cut the dress short and wear it at fiestas.

585 The marriage vows, the placing of the ring, and the giving of the thirteen coins (*arrastomines*) take place at the church door. Most church weddings are held
[608] early Sunday morning. Traditionally, the godfather accompanies the bride to the church door where she is "delivered" to the groom. In some recent weddings the girl no longer sleeps at the godfather's house and instead is accompanied to the church by her own father and meets the groom and godfather at the church door. The ceremony of the wedding follows the traditional Catholic ritual. The ring is generally put on at the church door, and then the couple enter for the Mass.[5]

[171] [5] Some writers have called marriage at the church door a Spanish custom. It is interesting to note that this custom is found in Chaucer in fourteenth-century England; see John M. Manly, *Canterbury Tales by Geoffrey Chaucer* (New York: Henry Holt, 1928), p. 279.

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sions, "when I am dead," or "when I am underground," in conversation. There is no attempt to protect children from the facts of death. Children of all ages attend wakes, view the corpses, participate in funeral processions and at burials. Little emotion is expressed about death or the dead, although close relatives of the recent dead may shed brief tears if the subject is discussed. Grief is restrained but varies somewhat according to the age and status of the deceased.

The death of an old person or an infant causes relatively little disturbance, that of a parent or adult who is still in full vigor, or of a grown son or daughter, much more so. Reactions to the death of a husband or wife depend upon the quality of the marital relationship but, again, is rarely demonstrative. Suicide is uncommon, and in no case has anyone ever killed himself because of the death of a loved one.

At death, Tepoztecans are concerned with the release of the soul from the body and with its journey to heaven. It is said that under certain circumstances it is difficult for a person to give himself up to death, and the agony of dying is prolonged. Witches and some *curanderos* are said to die "very badly," that is, slowly, losing consciousness and fainting without being able to give up their soul, because they need time to repent all the evil things they have done. Prostitutes also suffer a difficult death, "because they supported themselves with their own bodies. These women see terrible visions and figures which threaten to drag them off, and in their agony they scratch at the bedclothes and at their own faces and hands." Often children "cannot die until they receive a benediction from their parents or godparents." Also a father or mother "cannot die if their children cry too much." In such cases the children are taken away, to hasten death. When death comes, the soul leaves the body and may be seen as a figure, resembling the deceased, leaving the house, and Tepoztecans say, ". . . this is his soul which walks without touching the ground and without showing its face although it wears no hat. It is very white, like foam, and disappears when it touches something."

It is believed that when a person is about to die "his eyes go up and become whitish, his nose sharpens, his hands get cold and still, and his body becomes loose." At these signs, the dying person is taken from the bed and placed on a *petate* on the floor in a corner. He is covered with a sheet, his clothing is removed, and he is dressed in clean clothes. After death he is placed on a table and covered with a sheet, so that "those of little spirit" will not be made ill at the sight of the corpse. A newspaper is spread on the *petate*, and a cross of sand and lime is fashioned on the newspaper.[8] Flowers are placed above the cross, and a candle, which burns day and night for nine days, is placed at the head of the *petate*. If the deceased is a man, his sombrero and huaraches are laid next to the candle; if a woman, her *rebozo* is placed there. The clothing of the dead person is washed and ironed and placed at the head of the *petate*. A *rezandero* is hired by the bereaved family to come to the house to pray twice a day, at noon and in the evening, for nine days. The women of the house are required to be present and to kneel in prayer.

[8] A similar custom is reported for Mitla. See Parsons, *Mitla*, p. 141.

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764 A wake is held day and night, and friends, relatives, and *compadres* come to keep vigil. The family serves coffee, alcohol, bread, and cigarettes, the cost of which is a burden to the poor. Some of the visitors leave a few coins to help pay the expenses, but the majority do not. The more kindly disposed, close relatives may voluntarily offer financial or other assistance, and most godparents fulfill their [608] obligation to provide a coffin, burial clothing, and perhaps music at the death of a godchild.

[273] During the wake men and women pray together, but after each prayer the men separate to drink and play cards in order to keep awake. On the following day a few of the men go to the cemetery to dig the grave. The deceased is placed in a coffin and carried to the cemetery, with mourners preceding and following the cof- [766] fin. Some funerals, particularly those of important persons or members of the Acción Católica, enter the church before proceeding to the burial place. After burial, a cross with the name and date of death is placed on the grave. On the *novena*, or ninth day, the ceremony of the raising of the cross takes place at a night wake similar to the one held on the day of death. This time, however, an offering of tamales, *mole verde*, oranges, chocolate, cooked chicken, and bread is placed on the house altar for the deceased. The offering is left there for twelve hours, each [775] hour corresponding to one month of the year, so that the deceased will have food for the entire year.

For the ceremony of the raising of the cross, two boys and girls, who are non-relatives, are selected by the kin of the deceased to act as *padrinos*. The children carry flowers and, accompanied by the *rezandero*, walk toward the *petate* on which is the cross of lime and sand. The *padrinos* stand on either side of the cross, while the *rezandero* recites special prayers. Meanwhile, the children take small brooms, which must be new, and sweep the sand and lime together, gather it on a tray, and later take it to the grave. The clothing which had been left on the *petate* is now also raised. As each article is picked up, the *padrinos* recite the following prayer: "Rise up, soul of Christ, awake if you are asleep. God is looking for you to accompany you to heaven." After the cross and the clothing have been raised, the prayer hymns (*alabadas*) are sung in honor of the dead.

[794] It is also customary to ring the barrio chapel bells the day after the death. If a special fee is paid, the bells of the central church will be rung, and the priest will perform a benediction for the deceased.

One year after the death, another wake may be held and a special Mass arranged. In some families, members visit the grave with flowers.

766 A child's funeral is somewhat different. Tepoztecans adhere to the Catholic be- [775] lief that the soul of a child goes directly to heaven, and the funeral is therefore supposed to be an occasion of rejoicing. Gay music is played at the wake and at the funeral procession. The *novena* and prayers for the soul of the deceased are unnecessary in the case of children and are not held, and the burial clothing and decorations must be befitting to an *angelito*. If the dead child is a boy he is dressed like San José, if a girl, like the Virgen de Guadalupe. Both wear socks and cardboard